

PEACE NEWS

No. 595 November 21, 1947 3d.

Is U.S. Amnesty prejudiced?

TRIAL BY BALLOON

Americans working to secure an amnesty for C.O.s and others, and waiting to hear the results of President Truman's Amnesty Board, were surprised to read the following article in the New York World-Telegram on Nov. 7:

BOARD TO OPPOSE CIVIL RIGHTS FOR DRAFT VIOLATORS

Some exceptions Cited:
Of 16,000 Convicted
800 Remain in Jail

By Jim G. Lucas
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

Washington, Nov. 7.

The President's Amnesty Board will recommend against restoration of civil rights for the majority of 16,000 persons convicted of violating the Selective Service law during World War II, it was learned today.

Only 800 remain in jail or prison.

The Amnesty Board has considered each case on its own merits. A member of the Board also said no blanket rule was adopted, and each applicant was investigated before a decision was reached.

It was learned, however, the Board will urge President Truman to deny amnesty to draft-law violators in all but a few cases. Those involve unusual circumstances, such as a hill-billy farmer who honestly didn't know about the war.

In virtually all of the 10,000 willful-evader cases, the Board has found no reason to recommend civil rights restoration. These cases involve convicted criminals, bond-jumpers, parole violators, alimony dodgers and persons using assumed names who failed or refused to register.

Little sympathy

The 4,500 Jehovah's Witnesses insisted they were entitled to register as ministers of the gospel. The Board has shown little sympathy for this viewpoint, it was learned.

The remainder are 1,500 conscientious objectors who refused to enter work camps or went on hunger strikes. Another 12,000 conscientious objectors who entered work are not involved.

Although most draft-law violators have gained their freedom they still are denied certain civil rights, such as voting and holding public office, as convicted criminals. Many appealed for restoration of those rights.

REQUEST FOR DENIAL

Rev. A. J. Muste, of the Committee for Amnesty, after learning from the Secretary of the Amnesty Board that the report had no basis in fact, wired Justice Owen Roberts and asked him as Chairman of the Board to issue an official denial. Mr. Muste also wrote the publisher of the Scripps-Howard chain urging an immediate correction.

"Uncorrected, Lucas's story can prejudice the cases of thousands of war objectors now handicapped by loss of their civil rights," Mr. Muste's letter said. "Publication of the Lucas story is as serious an offence as printing what 'it was learned' a court would decide before the court had reached a verdict. The President's Amnesty Board is functioning in a quasi-judicial manner and upon its report depends the entire future of thousands of men."

A TRIAL BALLOON

"We believe this may be a trial balloon designed to test the strength of pro-amnesty sentiment," commented Albon Man, Secretary of the Committee for Amnesty. "It is most important that all who favour amnesty for conscientious objectors and other Selective Service Violators immediately call on the Board to disclaim the position ascribed to it in the Scripps-Howard article. Otherwise Justice Roberts and his colleagues may conclude that a very restrictive set of pardon recommendations to President Truman will meet with popular approval."

END THIS CRUELTY

A Parson pleads for PoWs

From the Rev. B. HANKINSON of Gower, Swansea

FOR upwards of eighteen months my wife and I have lived in intimate daily contact with 150 prisoners of war. The experience of sharing in their inner spiritual torture, which has been like an artificially imposed bereavement, is a never-to-be-forgotten agony.

The sharp edge of public indignation has been imperceptibly blunted by periodic announcements of concessions and liberties extended to the German PoW.

The spectator sees it in terms of camp life, labour, payments, interspersed with a little outside diversion. For many it is only a passing wagon load of man-power in their familiar patchwork suits.

But what is it like inside? In that inner consciousness which these men carry about like a haunting, stinking corpse chained to their backs?

In a treadmill

For most it is a melancholic, unreal, meaningless existence. They are like rats caught in a treadmill in which they are getting nowhere. They must try to live and work in a vacuum, in a foreign land while their hearts are living in some beloved spot in the Fatherland. Torn apart from the divinely ordained sources of spiritual, moral and psychic reinforcement which home life provides, it is nothing short of a miracle that they continue to find the will to lift their hands in labour. The gigantic strain laid upon their sex emotions is the most inhuman species of refined torture.

I have seen men reduced to a condition of mental and physical paralysis and feebleness, through sheer heartbreak. I know one dear lad, a born artist and mystic, who has gone to a mental hospital. I have seen this "Inside" world of Prisonerhood becoming what it is today. Men, who twelve months ago were amazingly tolerant and teachable and patient have become silent and depressed and cynical.

Some will remember only the kindnesses received, I know others, men

of high character and intense national pride, who will find it hard to resist the first opportunity to repay this coldly calculated indignity with interest.

I excused the Government at first because I recognised that they had not had time to think about the consequences of absorbing suddenly so many victims of War's chances, but this sin, wilfully persisted in, has already lost us the support of a powerful section of German manhood in any attempt we are making to create a new Germany. I recognise the splendid agencies for good which have ameliorated their lot but the one capital injury done to them is believed by them to be the outcome of deliberate policy.

If one is to get into the inside of this tragedy one must try to imagine what it is like to be living without remission under military orders and surrounded by army officials. This varies with the English personnel, but in some form it is the daily lot of all.

A pathetic sight

A month or two ago our camp was broken up. The scene of departure was a pathetic sight. Over 100 men lined up in army fashion. A motley crew! In their variegated, shabby clothes with their small possessions in tattered cases and kitbags, they looked like Falstaff's army. These men whose inside heartache I had come to know were shouted at by a vulgar little Scotsman. They said "Never mind, we are used to it." Then it began to rain heavily and a rush was made into the waiting wagons like cattle into railway trucks.

I could only speak a few words of farewell, the tenseness over the camp was so heavy. I said—"Gott ist nicht tot." "God is not dead."

Then I thought I must exchange a

word or two with the Quarter Master Sergeant who was in charge. I feared he might take me for a spy if I remained silent. He said these memorable words—"It'll do um good to move um. They get in too well. We'll straighten um up when we get um to..."

"They get in too well!" Does that brutal opinion lift the veil for you?

Orders forbidding us to fraternize, orders which were conceived in the belly of Hell, prevailed for the first nine months. The removal of these orders was a welcome sign of repentance. The extension of liberties and the right to possess English money have been fruits meet for repentance.

The changes of policy have redeemed in some measure our fallen humanity, but nothing short of a swift and wholehearted act of repentance now will convince our German brethren that we know we have blundered into a crime which has become historic.

The last ounce

Each little concession and alteration in the plan gives them the impression that we are going to get the last ounce out of them although we know that they must go sometime. Is there in this British Egypt with its War-made slaves, no Moses who will shake the Government by his demand from the Living God—"Let my people go!"

I cannot believe that those who are behind this policy are men without humane sentiments but it puzzles me much that Government officials who spend their "off days" in the bosom of their families fondling their children and grandchildren with tenderness, should still tolerate the detention of heartbroken fathers and husbands in this way.

The damage to the souls of these men has already been done. They have already paid a stupendous reparations bill in their mental torture. It may well be part of the Eternal Crucifixion for the World's sin. I cherish the hope that these men will be able to say "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

The World Crisis deepens

MOST of the countries that are most deeply affected by the world crisis are playing for time in the belief that given that and a reasonable amount of credit they will be able to recover. Hence all their measures for dealing with the crisis are of the stop-gap variety. They are seriously hoping to return to their pre-war status and to recover their 1938 standards of living. But in fact they will not succeed, and in so far as they fail to realise this they will drift blindly towards the precipice.

The USA and Europe

THE European situation is deteriorating rapidly, while the prospects of U.S. assistance being on such a scale as will not merely stop the rot but rehabilitate the European economy, especially that of Italy and France, are none too rosy.

The future of the U.S. is now irretrievably tied up with the fate of Europe. The issue is whether the U.S. or Russia will capture its allegiance.

A victory for the U.S. would cost her much more than a victory would cost Russia, for the reason that a Communist triumph would ensue upon a situation that had become intolerable and would be followed by the liquidation and confiscation of all economic assets. The U.S. has already been exceedingly generous, but what has been done is only a tithe of what needs to be done if democracy in the American sense is to triumph in Europe. At the same time, American Big Business has

hastened the crisis by forcing up prices, and may even worsen it by continuing that policy. The making of fabulous profits out of the world's necessity is a matter upon which it were perhaps juster to leave history to pass judgment.

I find myself unable to decide the extent of the aid Europe is likely to get from the U.S., but I am possessed

COMMENTARY

by

WILFRED WELLOCK

of a feeling that it will fall short of achieving the objective which the President and Mr. Marshall have in mind. It is American Big Business that I fear.

The conflict sharpens

MEANWHILE the ideological conflict both in Italy and in France is sharpening. The political situation in America has made it necessary for Mr. Truman and Mr. Marshall to emphasise the Russian menace in pleading for large-scale aid to Europe. Russia is leaving no stone unturned to meet the challenge. The ultimate weapon will probably be food, for food is going to be the world's major problem for many years to come. We have been told bluntly that large numbers will die of hunger in the coming year. Who are they to be? The poorest or the most ideologically dangerous? The U.S. has food surpluses. So has the Rus-

sian block, although to what extent probably no one knows outside Russia. America's corn harvest has been a failure, and growers fear that the long line of bumper wheat harvests may have come to an end.

A "still small voice"

THE real tragedy of Europe is that it is without vision and thus a rational plan. The materialistic dregs of a spent liberalism, supported by odd remnants of reaction and backed by American dollars is vainly trying to prop up a worn-out economy. Yet amid all the chaos and confusion in Europe there comes from America, in a Human Events Pamphlet published in Chicago, entitled "After the Years of the Locust," the faint but clear voice of a German refugee, Heinrich Hauser, who says:

"It is clear that we cannot and must not reconstruct in the old pattern of a pre-eminently industrial Germany. It was our growing dependence upon world raw materials, world food, world markets which was the main driving force behind our expansionist policy over the last eighty years. The goal to strive for is self-sufficiency and as we see it now this can be achieved."

"The Germans reject the pattern of the past, they reject also the patterns offered them by the victors. They take, quite understandably, an extremely gloomy view of the world's future in general and their own in particular. They want to reconstruct, but in a new pattern, designed above all to be shockproof against the anticipated catastrophes."

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PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

Stamford Hill 2262

Available from Newsagents and Bookstalls,
or direct from the above address.

POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES

	Gt. Britain.	Abroad.
Three months	4s. 4d.	8s. 10d.
Six months	8s. 8d.	7s. 7d.
Twelve months	16s. 6d.	14s. 4d.

THE APPEAL

NOTHING has become more familiar to the British ear, over the last two years, than The Appeal. No dissertation on "our present plight" or "the catastrophe of our civilisation" is complete without it; no Cabinet Minister who omits it from his address can be certain of prolonged applause, even from his own side of the House. If it is not an altogether new feature of our national life, The Appeal has nevertheless acquired an altogether new consistency; it has perceptibly shared in the general trend towards standardisation, otherwise known as Progress.

There are still, of course, a few local variations, due to reactionary elements. But we are in a position to predict now, with a high degree of accuracy, that when a speaker reaches the point, "I cannot believe that..." it will not be long before we are required to "recapture the spirit of—" the pioneers of Socialism, the Primitive Church, Dunkirk, or whatever happens to be appropriate.

In fact, if coal were shifted by moving exhortations, or textiles wafted abroad on tremendous cheers, there can be no doubt that the economic crisis of Britain would have been fairly surmounted by now. The odd thing about The Appeal, however, is that its effect on the output of coal, and even of wool, appears to be precisely nil. How are we to account for this strange discrepancy?

The Christian News-Letter this month has been exercising itself over the mystery. It contrasts, with the unresponsiveness of the British workers, the enthusiasm of the young Yugoslavs, engaged on the Salmac-Sarajevo Railway. Referring to the impressions of this challenging enterprise published in The Times on Oct. 22 (earlier and fuller descriptions, which appeared in a less respectable journal, are naturally passed over in silence), the Editor very pertinently asks: "If Sir Stafford called for 50,000 young volunteers to undertake a job of national service, what sort of response would he get?" And she concludes:

Our crisis is primarily one of vision: we have not seen our nation where it is—not tagging along in the rear but moving where others have not yet tried to tread. That the youngest of our great parties, coming for the first time to power, should so conspicuously have failed to make people see this vision is perhaps a greater failure than any economic blunder could have been.

That, we believe, gets near the heart of the problem, though still not near enough. The one thing which all the Appeal-mongers have overlooked is the fact that devotion to a cause is not, and cannot, be evoked by anything less than the cause. Granted an inspiring cause, the spirit will take care of itself; what is more, it will only come into existence when it is no longer consciously sought.

But what sort of vision is required? Whichever great movement we study, whether it be the Church, the Communist Party or Hitler's National Socialism, we shall find that its dynamic derived from an interpretation of history: an interpretation by which the demand of men's hearts and minds for a meaning in the chaos of events was met and satisfied. That is a truly religious demand, even though it may be couched in irreligious, or even anti-religious, language, and though churchmen habitually ignore it. In an age of social turmoil it is the religious demand.

Social Democracy will never evoke that spontaneous dedication of which the Appeal-mongers dream until it is so presented as to meet this demand; and unless it is so presented, it will assuredly founder on its maiden voyage. For "where there is no vision, the people perish"—not (unfortunately) where there is no Appeal.

"Hollywood Smokescreen" produces an opposing viewpoint on

UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

From OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

NEW YORK, November 12, 1947.

I WELCOME the opportunity so kindly afforded me by the Editor of Peace News to present an opposing viewpoint as to the activities of the Congressional committee headed by Representative J. Parnell Thomas to inquire into "un-American activities."

Let me say at once that I am as bitterly opposed to the tactics and methods and the crimes of the Russian Government as is Mr. Lyons, and that I am more than willing to have such false and pro-Communist movies as that of our former Ambassador to Russia, Mr. Joseph E. Davies ("Mission To Moscow") exposed in their true light. Any tendency to utilise our motion pictures for propaganda by Communists, would-be fascists, our (for the moment) all-powerful militarists, or any other anti-democratic forces should be revealed at once for the safety of our Republic.

AGREEMENT

I am with Mr. Lyons, too, in his estimate of the value of the Congressional committee of investigation. It is one of the most important functions of our Congress, especially as we are without your parliamentary question hour and do not grant seats in either House to the Cabinet. Previous inquiries have rendered enormously valuable services in revealing corruption, in controlling our Presidents and the executive departments, and in obtaining information upon which to base governmental and especially Congressional policies.

The criticisms of the Thomas Committee and its actions by most liberals are not due to any desire to undermine this governmental machinery or any wish to prevent full publicity as to Russian activities in the United States, or to any sympathy for undercover "fellow-travellers," but are based on entirely different grounds.

It must be remembered that the

present Thomas Committee is the continuance of the so-called Dies Committee which was roundly denounced by such non-partisan, immovably liberal organisations as the American Civil Liberties Union and numerous others. In both cases the opposition has been due to the leadership of the committees, their obvious bias, their plain zest for sensationalism, their eager desire for publicity, their concentration upon the "red menace," their frequently unjust and non-judicial procedures which, it is believed, have often resulted in gross unfairness to witnesses.

Long before Hollywood was brought into the proceedings thousands of letters of protest had been sent to the White House and the Congress. It is doubtless true that many of these letters came from Communists and their sympathisers.

But it is also true that multitudes were honest, liberal protests against the undignified proceedings, the star-chamber attitudes of the two committees, the assumption that, instead of being merely fact-finding agencies, they were judges if not executioners. The truth is that neither Mr. Dies nor Mr. Thomas have represented the highest type of the American Congressman.

DEMAGOGUES

It cannot be denied, I believe, that there has been more than a touch of the demagogue in much of the proceedings. Had these been conducted by personages of such high judicial temperament as Senator Taft, or Congresswoman Frances Bolton, or Congressman Herter, or numerous

Mr. Wellock's are of little help when vast problems, demanding a practical solution, face the Government. He does not mention the urgency for increasing production or exports. Yet it is against this background, surely, that any consideration of labour control must be made at the present time.

W. R. PAGE,
Secretary.

The Labour Pacifist Fellowship,
127 Fellows Road, N.W.3.

LETTERS

stands on its head

THE Labour Pacifist Fellowship's statement on industrial conscription (I beg their pardon, "direction" or "control of labour") is worthy of Father William—noticeable for incessantly standing on his head. It compromises on principles with a plea of expediency, motivated by "My Party, right or wrong."

Having objected to the evil means—"compulsion and regimentation"—of military conscription, it alleges that the bad means of industrial conscription can produce the good end—"a socialist society without violating personal freedom." Yet it admits that "direction of labour violates the individual's fundamental right to choose his work and decide what form his contribution to society shall take!"

I understand now why a new edition of "Ends and Means" has been issued. I hope Labour Party members will read it.

RONALD S. MALLONE.

53 Musgrove Road, S.E.14.

An alternative

MR. RHYS DAVIES, like many another of Liberal and progressive views, is discovering that Socialism is not the panacea he hoped it would be. Socialism does involve planning, a bureaucracy and a centralised State. From the workers' point of view, the change to National (misnamed "public") ownership is merely to change his comparatively small employer to an infinitely more powerful and impersonal one. Human contact is lost, for the

REMEMBRANCE

I SHOULD like to thank the anonymous reader in North Stafford who generously sends a regular donation of 15s. to the PN Fund, and at the same time quote the following letter, from another supporter, which reached us on Remembrance Day:

"I wish to reiterate the plea I made twelve months ago to utilize this opportunity of 'Remembrance and Dedication' by sending a gift to the Union or to Peace News. With the abolition of the 'Basic' and a reduction in smoking, here lies an avenue to which we can direct our savings. With Miss Adam (PN, Oct. 24) we believe that 'pacifists were right all the time'—our job is to convince others: let us send in our remembrance gifts as a first indication of renewed endeavour."

If remembrance really means re-dedication, it is not too late now to act on this reader's suggestion.

THE EDITOR.

Contributions since Nov. 4: £17 0s. 3d.
Total for 1947: £343 11s. 3d.

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others, most of the criticisms would have ceased at once with far better results in the way of information.

Certainly there would have been no such undignified circuses as were the Hollywood hearings—which, incidentally, have produced much hearsay but no evidence that would be of value to any judicial tribunal manned by competent jurists; I doubt if Mr. Lyons is correct in his belief that, as a result, the Communist ringleaders in Hollywood have been publicly identified.

THE DARK SIDE

The dark side of all this is that these sensational inquiries add greatly to the alarming anti-Red hysteria that is sweeping the country and taking us dangerously close to war. It helps to make the American public believe that another holocaust is so inevitable that even some of the peaceably inclined hope that it will come now. More than that, it blinds the public to the one-sidedness of the Truman attitudes, to the un-American character of such deliberate attacks upon Russia as now mark the speeches of Secretary Marshall in the verbal contest between our own leaders and those of the Kremlin.

Unions, supposedly representing the workers, are becoming increasingly under the thumb of the State, through the permanent Union officials and leaders. Hence the number of unofficial strikes.

May I bring to the notice of such disillusioned people as Mr. Davies, an alternative to both Capitalism and Socialism—Anarchism. Briefly, Anarchism means in practice that the workers themselves control the means of production and distribution. The mines, railways and road transport services and the Post Office, are all capable of running smoothly and efficiently under the control of the men who actually work and staff them. Under the Spanish Collectives in the Civil War the railways, for instance, functioned better, and were left in far better condition than when they were under State control.

To me, Anarchism is the only system which would give the individual the maximum amount of freedom compatible with the freedom of his fellows. It is the one system which would bring into existence an environment favourable to the development of man's spiritual and creative capacities.

But before Anarchism can become a fact, I am afraid we shall have to wait until a large part of our population gets tired of Socialism, which may mean a wait of many years.

W. ARTHUR LE MIN.

19 Wragby Rd. Bardney, Lincs.

Descent to Slavery?

IN reply to Mr. James B. Fell's demur to my contention that, if it be the will of the community, it is right for the individual to submit to the loss of material liberty, may I point out that we do already give countenance in our prison system to what is virtually "slave labour."

Nevertheless, when C.O.s went to prison they accepted, quite rightly, that loss of material liberty; had their spiritual liberty been involved, they should have hunger-struck and resisted to the death.

But to be "law-abiding" does not mean that you have not the right to work strenuously for the removal of unjust laws. LAURENCE HOUSMAN.
Longmeadow, Street, Somerset.

CHALLENGE TO PACIFISM

II Violence v. Non-violence

TO return now to our quotation from Camus, by Utopia he means an end such as the classless society accepted as an absolute, so that this end justifies whatever means may be deemed necessary to achieve it. And he concludes that Socialists—and it would of course apply to all who strive for a better world and must consider the means by which they may reach their goal—are now, when they know what terror and “murder” mean, forced to make a choice:

They will either admit that the end justifies the means, in which case murder can be legitimized; or else they will reject Marxism as an absolute philosophy, confining themselves to its critical aspect, which is often valuable. If they choose the first their moral crisis will be ended and their position will be unambiguous. If the second, they will exemplify the way our period marks the end of ideologies, that is, of absolute Utopias which destroy themselves, in History, by the price they ultimately exact.

A ROMANTIC IDEA

Camus applies his analysis to the problem of the prospect for revolution, radical social change, in our age. “The violent seizure of power,” he argues, “is a romantic idea which the perfection of armaments has made illusory. Since the repressive apparatus of a modern State commands tanks and aeroplanes, tanks and aeroplanes are needed to counter it. 1789 and 1917 are still historic dates, but they are no longer historic examples.”

But even if the “conquest of power” were still possible, “it would be effective only if France (or Italy or Czechoslovakia) could be put into a parenthesis and isolated from the rest of the world.” But this cannot be. If a radical move to the left is attempted, the United States will stand in the way, American credits would be withdrawn and the French economy threatened. Any move to the Right similarly meets opposition from Russia. Today, therefore, “one can conceive only the extension of a revolution that has already succeeded. This is something Stalin has very well understood and it is the kindest explanation of his policies (the other being to refuse Russia the right to speak in the name of revolution).”

REPLACED

Since the two powers are equally well armed clearly the idea of revolution in this context “is replaced by that of ideological warfare. More precisely, world-revolution today involves a very great danger of war. Every future revolution will be a foreign revolution. It will begin with a military occupation—or, what comes to the same thing, the blackmail or threat of one. And it will be significant only when the occupying power has conquered the rest of the world.”

Today, therefore, “the costs of a world war must be weighed against the progress that may be hoped for from either Russia or America gaining world-power.” And, Camus concludes, all this “should give pause to those who talk lightly of revolution. The present-day content of this word must be accepted or rejected as a whole. If it be accepted, then one must recognise a conscious responsibility for the coming war.”

We may look at this objective and, it seems to me, incontrovertible analysis of Camus from another angle and

A. J. MUSTE

the well-known American pacifist has been greatly impressed by two articles which appeared during the period of the recent Vishinsky-Marshall duels. His first comments appeared last week, when he quoted Albert Camus, the French novelist:

“People like myself want not a world in which murder no longer exists . . . but rather one in which murder is not legitimate. Here indeed, we are Utopian—and contradictory. For . . . it appears that we cannot change the world without murder”

say that “the cold war” between Russia and the United States is a civil war on a world scale. If, as is certain if a drastic change does not take place, it becomes an open “hot war,” it is bound to have revolutionary social results—a point American Conservatives might ponder—and because of the means employed the “revolution” cannot be a progressive one—a point idealists and churchmen and the working masses might ponder. As Camus says, it is “of first importance that a balance be struck, and that for once we use a little imagination about what this globe, where already thirty million fresh corpses lie, will be like after a cataclysm which will cost us ten times as many.”

HIS CONCLUSION

Thus this brilliant thinker and tried battler for freedom and against dictatorship has been led out of the experience of war and Resistance to the conclusion that the chief and most basic issue before mankind, and especially before its youth and all its progressive elements, is the issue of violence versus non-violence. What is demanded first and foremost is:

that we reflect and then decide whether humanity's lot must be made still more miserable in order to achieve far off and shadowy ends, whether we should accept a world bristling with arms where

brother kills brother; or whether, on the contrary, we should avoid bloodshed and misery as much as possible, so that we may give a chance of survival to later generations better equipped than we are . . . I have made the choice . . . I will never again be one of those, whoever they be, who compromise with murder . . . All I ask is that, in the midst of a murderous world, we agree to reflect on murder and to make a choice. After that we can distinguish those who accept the consequences of being murderers themselves or the accomplices of murderers and those who refuse to do so with all their force and being. Since this terrible dividing line does exist, it will be a gain if it be clearly marked. Over the expanse of five continents throughout the coming years, an endless struggle is going to be pursued between violence and friendly persuasion.”

THE SETTING

This, then, is the setting in which the pacifist movement operates today: the situation itself drives men to a choice between murder and non-murder, violence and non-violence, total war or a total, integral pacifism. And thinkers of the vanguard increasingly see that this is the case and choose non-violence. Incidentally, Edmond Taylor in a remarkable current publication *Richer By Asia*, comes by an entirely different way to essentially the same conclusion as Camus; and Taylor is a newspaper man who was prominent in the psychological warfare work of OSS (Office of Strategic Services) in South-East Asia during the war. Now it is true that men confronted by such a choice do not necessarily make the right decision; but it is also true that until History forces the choice upon them, and eliminates other avenues of escape, men avoid a definitive choice and that, having been brought into the Valley of Decision, they may choose life and not death. This is what I mean by saying that the pacifist movement faces a great opportunity.

(To be concluded)

“One day the world will know . . .”

Further reflections on GEORGE LANSBURY by Joseph Jackson

Pennsylvania, with its 70-odd years of unbroken friendship with the Red Indians, is an outstanding, but far from solitary example.

George Lansbury was fond of telling us again and again: “Jesus was no idle dreamer, but a realist. ‘Those sayings of Christ in the Sermon on the Mount were sound political as well as sound moral maxims. To build society upon them was to have a foundation of rock. To reject those simple precepts was to build upon sand, and invite certain disaster. The quaking state of our present-day world, which owes its unhappy pass to leadership and government by men who, though often keen to call Him Master and Lord, have been very clever to explain away into meaningless nothingness the bedrock principles of Jesus, shows that Lansbury's simple approach was the only wise one.”

The pacifist today needs to make no apology for his faith; he or she is not on the defensive. “Ifs” and “buts” can be very well dispensed with.

We need but to look into all the facts of our case, and rest assured in the triumphant power of goodness to conquer evil; and in no wise is this power lessened if perchance the path of moral rectitude leads once more to a Cross, and all that is implied thereby in tragedy and apparent failure. For the Cross has a paradox of its own, the very opposite of the paradox of the triumphant sword. The wielder of the triumphant sword acclaims with pomp and pride his victory, and scarce is the shouting and flag-waving over, before the bubble bursts and the emptiness is revealed.

But the Cross, which to all mere human reckoning should be the final

end of the faith and purpose of him who perishes thereon, proves to be a new and more abundant beginning. Around it rally those who were expected to lose all heart, and utterly despair. Forces of mind and spirit gather and mass till men and women are possessed of that might, against which Militarism is powerless, and victory is realised in a sense the sword can never know.

These stupendous truths, which lie at the heart of our faith as pacifists, are hidden from the world's wise and prudent.

“Unconditional surrender”—how big and brave it sounded; yet competent study of military history backed us as Pacifists in denying its wisdom; Captain Liddell Hart's warning, however, went unheeded. The would-be victors in the height of their struggle would not learn from history. So complete and overwhelming victory has again, by its very nature, planted seeds in world-affairs which calmer counsel than war's triumphant passions must uproot to prevent another world-war.

In the darkest days of the conflict, Dr. Belden in “Peace News,” spoke to the Government of the weapons we pacifists held, should their material ones fail them; the weapons of the spirit—the power of love and goodwill, “the sword of the Lord.”

We would repeat that truth to Ernest Bevin and Clement Attlee—and their colleagues—in these days of crisis.

Maybe that hands turned from destruction to the Christlike tasks of healing and helpfulness may work that miracle of transformation upon the leaders of Russia, which our Saxon forefathers witnessed in the conversion of Canute, but which our generation to its tragedy and sorrow, lacked faith to attempt upon Hitler and Mussolini.

November 21, 1947, PEACE NEWS—3

Mainly about

TRAINS

FOUR trains are collecting food gifts as they cross America to New York.

“The gifts are coming mostly from little people,” says the New York Correspondent of the Daily Express. “Sugar workers contributed 3d. each to buy two truck loads of sugar.”

THE Amnesty demonstration reported in Peace News (Oct. 24) was not the only one to greet America's Freedom Train. Langston Hughes, a Negro poet, had this demonstration printed in “New Republic”:

Who's the engineer on the Freedom Train?
Can a coal-black man drive the Freedom Train?
Or am I still a porter on the Freedom Train?
Is there ballot boxes on the Freedom Train?
Do coloured folks vote on the Freedom Train?
When it stops in Mississippi will it be made plain
Everybody's got a right to board the Freedom Train?

IN Britain an “Atomic Train” Exhibition, prepared by the Atomic Scientists' Association, is touring the country, using the two coaches which comprised the “Penicillin Train.” It will visit the following towns:

Town and Station.	Dates
Manchester (L.M.S. Victoria)	Nov. 19—27
Blackpool (L.M.S. Central)	Nov. 29—Dec. 6
Carlisle (L.M.S.)	Dec. 8—10
Glasgow (L.M.S. St. Enoch)	Dec. 12—20
Dundee (L.M.S. West)	Dec. 22—24
Leith (L.N.E. Central)	Dec. 29—Jan. 1
Edinburgh (L.N.E. Waverley)	Jan. 2—6
Newcastle-on-Tyne (L.N.E. Cent.)	Jan. 8—12
Middlesbrough (L.N.E. West End)	Jan. 14—17
York (L.N.E. Old Station Yard)	Jan. 19—22
Leeds (L.M.S. City South)	Jan. 23—28
Sheffield (L.M.S. New Fish Dock)	Jan. 29—Feb. 3
Derby (L.M.S. West End Dock)	Feb. 5—7
Coventry (L.M.S. Goods Yard)	Feb. 9—12
Nottingham (L.N.E. Victoria)	Feb. 13—17
Leicester (L.N.E. Central)	Feb. 18—21
Birmingham (G.W. Snow Hill)	Feb. 23—Mar. 2
Shrewsbury (G.W.)	Mar. 4—6
Swansea (G.W. High Street)	Mar. 8—13
Bristol (G.W. Temple Meads)	Mar. 15—20
Cardiff (G.W. Queen Street)	Mar. 22—27
Oxford (L.M.S. Goods Yard)	Mar. 29—Apr. 3
Reading (S.R.)	Apr. 5—8
London (G.W. Paddington)	Apr. 9—20

"The Cabinet, our military correspondent declares, has based its policy on the assumption that war is unlikely before 1956—but this period may have to be shortened"—*Sunday Times*

THIS GOT ME ANGRY

BUT why should it? We are all realists nowadays—or are we? Did even the suavest BBC propagandist ever claim that the last war was "a war to end war"? Did even "a Mr. Priestley," who, as Mr. Churchill told the Americans recently, "gained some acceptance during the war because we used him for broadcasting—but has no influence now"?

No, on the whole that was one of the few 1914-18 gags they did not try to pull on us again. So surely one ought to be feeling quite relieved and thankful. After all, the last war has been over for nearly three years. Now the armed forces are being cut; even the home fleet almost immobilised. At least there is not likely to be another war this year or next year either. Has not one learned to be grateful for small mercies?

Not grateful

But no, that's just it—I have not. I cannot feel grateful for (perhaps) eight more years respite. The mere fact that I, in common with the public generally, am coolly expected to read such a statement without getting angry—to take it quite casually, as a matter of course—that is precisely what makes me angry.

No, I understate. What I believe the *Sunday Times* expected me and others to feel was actually a measure of critical concern, tinged maybe with some proper stirring of patriotic indignation, lest our armed forces were being too recklessly depleted—in view of the possibility that "the period may have to be shortened." And that affront to the sanity and intelligence of myself and some thousands of other readers, just makes me angrier still.

Heavens alive! Is there supposed to be no limit to human sheeplike resignation? That same weekend, like so many previous ones, the newspapers were vociferous about the overwhelming, well-nigh superhuman tasks we are up against if we are to survive and recover from the last war. Stupendous efforts, supreme efforts, were being called for. Incentives, cried the leader-writers, there must be incentives. How are we to provide them?

The grand incentive

Well, here's a most heartening "incentive" to be sure. In seven or eight years, if no sooner, just when with any luck the grim period of hard-driven austerity might begin to show results and ease up—we shall have just reached the date when the next war becomes officially more "likely." Just when the work, profession or business you are now struggling against all odds to build up and make good at seems about to bear fruit. Just when the children aged now, say 8-10, whose growth and development you have watched so lovingly, whose school reports have been so promising, are blossoming out and starting off on their careers. Oh a grand incentive, isn't it? The war that is reckoned unlikely until 1956!

What angers me more than anything is the cool, inconsequent assumption that millions of human beings are so besotted, so blinkered, so dragooned into existing from day to day and from hand to mouth, that they will not even momentarily reflect upon this prospect, much less be dismayed or outraged by it.

What has become of those faculties of memory and foresight which (one might have thought) were man's chief distinction from the lower animals?

Can it be possible that pay-packet incentives are supposed to be all that is necessary, all that matters?

Of living incentives, human incentives, the need for a future of peace, is there never a thought?

Of course there is plenty of would-be bracing and rallying exhortation:

the "Dunkirk spirit," serving the community. Yet underneath the insidious mood engendered by doubt of the future is probably affecting millions. There is a devitalising lack of confidence, of faith and of hope.

Is it some repressed premonition of 1956?

And what is the use of getting angry about it anyway? What

—by

DION BYNGHAM

difference can your or my impotent anger make?

But is anger so useless, so powerless? At least its a bit more alive, more vital, than sheeplike resignation. At least emotion is a moving, a motive force, even if it stirs only inwardly. And anger is a powerful emotion, which may be more potent still if it is anger at the annihilating menace to all we love, which another war would be. Only it must be anger rightly directed. Not projected on to some outside scapegoat, some Hitler or Stalin, or whoever the next target may be. It must be anger at war-acceptance, war-expectancy, war-resignedness as such, within ourselves as much as anywhere.

It must be that "honest indignation" which Blake once called "the Voice of God." It must be Dick Sheppard's "WAR?—WE SAY NO!"

In neutral Sweden there was

NO PEACE FOR C.O.s

ALTHOUGH Sweden remained neutral throughout the Second World War, C.O.s there were called upon to take much the same stand as those in Britain.

When, one evening recently in the home of a Swedish CO, I met Mr. Arnold Kjellgren, former Chairman of the Swedish War Resisters' Association, the atmosphere too, was much the same as when a group of English COs get together for the first time.

I was told that 400 COs went to prison "during the war." From a central fund at Stockholm about £750 was paid out to dependants apart from help individually given to those in difficulty.

It was in 1920 Sweden first allowed objection on religious grounds to the long established tradition of military conscription, this was followed in 1925 by the recognition of ethical grounds for objection. There was no complete exemption and instead of 260 days military training COs had to perform 380 days civil work, this frequently took the form of painting street lamp standards or other municipal work.

With a few exceptions the Swedish COs, living in their "small-power" environment, accept alternative service much more readily than their "great-power" British comrades. It was not surprising therefore to learn that two-thirds of the imprisoned COs were Jehovah's Witnesses. "We are not anarchists" was a phrase frequently used.

A FIRM STAND

The alternative service, however, had to be civilian work and most COs firmly stood their ground on this issue.

When during the war the trained militia was mobilised the COs too were called up again and this time drafted into the Army for Non-combatant work. This was where the real struggle began.

Legal defence was provided by the War Resisters' Association for the many COs who went before the military courts prior to a decision that COs were to be given civilian alternative service.

Their case was not helped by the

fact that there had been a weakening in the peace movement since the time when many of them had made their first stand. With the Abyssinian War had come a swing to militarism in the Labour movement and with the outbreak of the Finnish-Russian war out had come the banners proclaiming a Christian war against Red paganism.

A new Conscription Bill before the Riksdag in 1942 threatened worsened conditions for COs. Speeches from sympathetic MPs, however, swayed the course of the debate and the Defence Minister himself ultimately came out in favour of their better treatment.

More, if anger is to be effectual it must arouse us to demand with searching insistence an answer to the pointed question—WHY? Why, in God's name, must war become more likely by 1956 or any other year?

What will have been the causes if war comes again?

What seeds are being sown now, or may be sown in the next few years, of which we shall reap the frightful consequences then?

Living in the present is all very well, but it is not the same as living a day at a time. The present merges past with future and seven years hence is merely an extension of now. The way out into life, the means of survival, will surely reveal themselves. But really we must first want to live.

His warning

One's mind goes back to a year or so before the last war and to Eric Gill in the pulpit of a London church, crying a sane man's only warning: "Flee, flee from Babylon; flee from the doomed city." But in the global madhouse we have since made of this world, whither indeed shall we flee? There are few, if any, actual places to escape to even if we could. The only "fleeing" that can be done is from insanity to sanity, from headless folly to vital awareness, from deadly apathy and resignation to a passion for living peace. And, if it serves to jolt us awake and spur us on in that direction, even a rush of anger may be all to the good.

WOMAN'S VIEWPOINT

PRESS comment on the recent Municipal Elections seems agreed at least on one thing: that some part of Labour's reverses may be attributed to the increased poll of women voters—the housewife, in short, marched to the booth to register her grievance.

There is a good deal of truth in this diagnosis. The most unlikely people became election-conscious and displayed Conservative placards in their windows—people unaccustomed to feeling the pinch and not liking it. But the reaction is not surprising.

Women on the whole are more quick to sense an atmosphere than most men. And the atmosphere has changed since nineteen forty-five. There was something akin to inspiration in the general election broadcasts that is sadly lacking in the present Government propaganda. The appeal now is quite overtly to greed and self-interest. "We work or want." "Extra effort now means better living sooner." And so on. It is not what we put into the job that matters, but what we can get out of it. This sort of thing has always been the Tory prerogative, and they do it far better. The electorate has responded accordingly—particularly the women, since they are becoming increasingly affected by the domestic repercussions of political action.

Few women will bother to assess Socialist principles except on results. Cuts in bacon, butter and sweets, and the rationing of the humble potato, just don't add up to better living (though Brighton rock would be an even poorer substitute). But that these and similar sacrifices now might one day add up to constructive employment, security and some hope of a peaceful future, does not seem to have been brought home to the public. The loss of confidence in the Government is only equalled by the Government's lack of faith in the people to stand up to any real test of what they are pleased to call the "nineteen-forty spirit."

In spite of damping officialdom, however, the spirit of mutual aid survives and flourishes. An interesting new venture is "Women's Home Industries Ltd.", launched under the auspices of the W.V.S. (which has always had potentialities far beyond its wartime scope).

The objects of this Company are: (1) earning dollars for this country by producing home-made articles for export to Canada and the United States;

(2) giving work to those who are not able to leave their homes, but who would like to use their skill to add to production.

It is a non-profit, making concern and voluntary workers are also welcomed; materials are supplied by the organisation. Chief requirements are for knitted goods, rugs, embroidery, quilting and chair-coverings, and only the highest workmanship is accepted.

The exhibition of finished goods now on view at Charing Cross Station must be an eye-opener to those devotees of the machine who would relegate anything "home-made" to the village jumble-sale.

The idea is still in its infancy and there is no reason why it should merely aim at providing chest-comforters for millionaires. It is surely a step in the right direction and deserves the support of all who seek to re-affirm the values of vocational craftsmanship. Details can be had from: Women's Home Industries Ltd., c/o W.V.S., 41 Tothill Street, S.W.1.

EIRENE.

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HUGH BROCK.

MUSIC & DRAMA

TWO GREAT FILMS

Edited by
ROGER PAGE

THE generality of films seen in London are sound, workmanlike items of entertainment, but very few are more than that. Now and again comes a rare and flashing experience illuminating the very heart of life. But not often. All the more remarkable, therefore, that in London now can be seen two films each in its way great, and one with the impress of genius.

The Italian film *Vivere in Pace* now showing at the Curzon, is a story of the war years; its people are soldiers and others caught up in the war tangle, but it is not just about war; it is about the human heart, its loves, its fears, its groping after good. It brings the message of hope that when we would do evil there is good. It is a pacifist film.

It tells of events in a little Italian village when a peasant family gives shelter to two American soldiers—one white, one negro. It is part of the beauty of this film that—like the American *Our Vines Have Tender Grapes*—it plays on the theme "a little child shall lead them," for it is the youngsters who first show compassion. But the whole family soon forms a conspiracy of goodwill, and the crisis comes when the Nazi in charge of the village comes for a fireside drink. While he gets drunk above, the negro hiding in the cellar also gets drunk, and a riot of high comedy breaks into a scene of tension almost unbearable (so I found it, even though I knew what was to happen) when the negro and Nazi come face to face. The film ends magnificently when the peasant finds he cannot deny the Nazi the compassion he has already shown to the Americans. It is war itself which breaks this harmony.

That is the persistent message of this film—that the blame for the bad things of war is not to be laid to Americans, Italians, Britons or Ger-

mans; it is the fault of war itself, of all who fight: All we ask is to be left to live in peace. That the film was made by Italians must be their pride and joy, but it belongs to humanity.

Technically, it is not outstanding; the photography is for the most part uninspired. Actors' names do not much matter; the film is not a star vehicle. But it would be unjust not to praise the warm, richly human and lovable Tigna of Aldo Fabrizi. But the actors play as a team and the total effect is a symphony.

I could fill columns about this film. Instead I will solemnly abjure you to move Heaven and Earth to see it. If you are in London, that's easy. If you are not, press for it to be licensed locally. And if it comes within twenty miles of you, get to it even if you have to walk both ways. You will not be sorry.



THE other film is *Monsieur Verdoux*, in which Charles Chaplin plays the main role. He also wrote, directed and produced—as well as composing the music. There has been some criticism of this multiplicity, but it seems to me to be almost unavoidable. Obviously, to Chaplin this was not just a film; it is his artistic expression of his philosophy, as much of a piece as is a book from one pen. Chaplin will make other films, but this is the summit of his work, the final unfolding of his philosophy. We have come gradually to it, from the earlier sagas of the little man, through *The Great Dictator*, to this last expression of the blundering and bewilderment of modern life, its essential unsoundness.

The film is not without fault. Sometimes it drags a little, and here and there the note of comedy is maybe a little out of key. The funniest single sequence for instance—in the rowing-boat—is pure early vintage Keystone comedy. The train wheels are introduced rather too often, and more than once a line is too artificially contrived—for example the rebuke to his cat-teasing son; it did not fit in—and anyway that point had been made early in the film when the mass killer of women gently removes a caterpillar from the path for fear it should be trodden on.

What makes the film—and what has angered so many people—is that in the last ten minutes Chaplin delivers a series of hard-hitting, epigrammatic sermonettes, pointing and underlining his pacifist faith. Verdoux asks why he is condemned for doing, on a small scale, what would be praiseworthy if he had acted on a large scale. Why, he says, condemn murder if you approve war?

Some writers have savagely dismissed this as "phoney," "hysterical," and so on, but without stating

why. Clearly the audience, when I saw the film, had no doubt but that Chaplin is in the right. The only sense in which it seems to me at all out of step is that Chaplin makes us sympathise with and love his mass murderer—not only because the victims, so far as we know them, seem eminently killable, but also because Verdoux, himself delightful, is not only Verdoux: he is the long history of the great and magnificent Chaplin.

It is a brave and sincere film. It is also entertaining, with many touches of the comic genius of Chaplin. Even those who dislike its message do not deny the film's quality. It is beyond doubt one of the greatest films ever to have come out of Hollywood. It may come to be seen as the greatest.

R.P.

PETER GRIMES

BENJAMIN BRITTEN'S first opera, *Peter Grimes*, was revived at Covent Garden on Nov. 6, when an excellent performance was given across an appropriately foggy auditorium. The cast was much the same as in the Sadler's Wells production, but orchestra, producer and scenic designer were new.

The subject of the opera—the tragedy of the outlaw and schizophrenic—is on the same dimensions as Shakespeare's tragedies, and in this bold choice of subject Britten has, on behalf of English opera, challenged the monopoly on universal subjects which English drama has held for several centuries to the detriment of opera.

Before the war the history of English opera made lamentable reading. With Peter Grimes Britten has made a landmark. Yet his methods are not startling: operatic conventions are accepted; so is tonality (whereas Albert Herring is mainly in several simultaneous keys); and the idiom is direct and accessible to the modern mind because outworn traditions are shunned.

This opera gave Britten his first opportunity to use his highest powers; he was able to use his facility and technique with imagination.

As a "grand opera," Peter Grimes is well suited to its new home, and the necessary changes are improvements.

N.B.

Publications Received

THE THIRD WAY

EVER since it became clear that the war would leave world-power divided between two Titans, USA and USSR, British journalists have been given to writing of Great Britain as the exponent of a middle way. We have been pictured as a tolerant and good-humoured friend, who with a persuasive hand on the shoulder of each of the sparring giants, seeks to soothe and reconcile them, by our mature humanity persuading them both to cease from doing evil, to learn to do well. That it was never an honest picture is now clear.

Mr. Wilfred Wellock, whose pamphlet *The Third Way* (Is., Housman's Bookshop) has just appeared, is convinced that we can still save ourselves from a tug-of-war between East and West; that we could even be exemplary to the world of a peace-capable society. But only by abandoning the materialist values to which both sides in this tragic debate are attached. Communist and Capitalist alike, he says, believe in money-standards as against human standards, in cash values instead of life-values, and in a devastating examination of their civilisations he leaves that moving staircase to Paradise, the rising standard of living, looking like the bone the dog left.

Mr. Wellock has served us well before: his PPU pamphlet "Your Money has Destroyed your Peace" was memorable. He has the rare virtue that while very much at home with his economic facts, he always sees past and through them, to the reality of the human soul trying to live and grow in a world which seems designed to crush and kill it.

Strenuous exporting competition by rival industrial countries has propelled us into two great wars in thirty years, and Mr. Wellock sees no other likely outcome to our present frantic efforts. Even if that were not so certain, he sees us all unmanned by the uncurbed machine, helpless parasites in the guts of a mechanical monster which carries on to chaos. Joining the noble English company of Cobbett, Morris and Ruskin, he exhorts us to decentralise, to become small-scale, to rebuild a social harmony of country and town, to arrest the ravages of the machine. We are in Mr. Wellock's debt for this pregnant little book.

P.T.G.

GAOLED C.O.'s RE-UNION

Last December a successful reunion of ex-prison C.O.s was held in London, and this year a similar event is planned for Saturday evening, Dec. 6, when there will be a Re-union Supper and Entertainment. All C.O. ex-prisoners of the 1914 or 1939 wars will be welcome. Details can be had from Rex Whittaker, 76 Mount Nod Road, S.W.16.

This year's

CHRISTMAS PAMPHLET

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When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

MEETINGS, &c.

KINGSWAY HALL, W.C.2. Wed., Nov. 26, Lunch-hr. mtg. (1.15-2.15). Michael Stewart, M.P., "Latin America in World Affairs." Admission free. National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1.

SOUTHERN AREA PPU: Important meetings Sat., Nov. 22, Southampton Friends House, Ordnance Road, 3 p.m. Area Business; 5 p.m. tea; 6 p.m. "Germany Today," by Stuart Morris. Every Group should be represented, contact members expected. Members' friends invited to evening session.

WEIGH HOUSE CHURCH, Duke St., W.1. Bond St. Tube. "The Gospel of Peace!" Sun. evenings at 6.30. Social hr. follows.

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CHRISTMAS CARDS are scarce this year. Order yours from the International Voluntary Service for Peace, 11a St. Andrews Rd., London, E.13. Type "A" 4s. per doz. Type "B" 3s. per doz. (both types require no envelope). Post free. Sample set 8d., post free.

REBILIX MUST buy typewriters. We arrange advertisements and pay good commissions to any contacts in provinces who will forward replies. Full details from Rebilix Typewriter Co. Ltd., 561 London Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex.

LITERATURE, &c.

TIME IS short!!! German PoWs gone soon!!! Many never read Peace News!!! A few copies, free, of German P.N. "Das Andere Deutschland"!!! ("The Other Germany") from H. Hallam, 88 Burford Rd., Nottingham.

QUAKERISM. Information and letters of the Religious Society Friends, free on application to Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., Lond.

PERSONAL

PAMELA DUGDALE introduces people of similar interests and deals with human problems. Letters only to 244 Fulham Rd., London, S.W.10.

DENSELOW, NOV. 14. To Barbara and Mick Denselow, 34 The Ridgeway, Sanderstead—Heather Jill, a sister for Robin.

MARRIAGE

COLLIER-WALSH. On Nov. 15, 1947, Charles Robert Collier to Cynthia Walsh, daughter of Sam and Nellie Walsh 16 Mornington Rd., Bolton, Lancs.

SITUATIONS VACANT

Situations are available only to applicants excepted from the Control of Engagement Order, 1947, No. 2021.

SECRETARY OR typist reqd. (man or woman) to organisation engaged in problem family casework. Committee wk., accounts. Hostel acmdn. available. Sal. according to age and experience. Manchester and Salford Family Service Unit, 86 Rusholme Rd., Manchester, 13.

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HEALTH FOOD Store reqs. warehouseman, free to start wk. in Jan. or earlier. London area. Living acmdn. available if reqd. Preference given to one able to assist in office when necessary. Give full particulars, of previous experience stating whether needing acmdn., and sal. expected. Box 804.

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MISCELLANEOUS

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COMMENTARY CONTINUED

"Our best chance of survival lies in agriculture."

"Through war and defeat the small community rather than the large has become the true centre of German life. The tremendous influx of refugees and repatriates increasingly breaks up the old and rather petrified village pattern. Skilfully handled this newly created melting pot can be of the greatest ultimate benefit. The newcomers have brought with them all kinds of skills which can contribute to village vitalization and self-sufficiency."

"The superior stability, the superior surviving powers, the superior social health of self-sufficient religionism has been demonstrated to us in peace in war and above all in defeat. The land, the mother of all civilisation must again become the centre of our national life; only from this placenta is it possible for Germany to be reborn."

What of Britain?

TO some extent Britain participates in the tragedy of Europe, for she, also, is straining every nerve to get back to the living standards of 1938, standards which were almost completely devoid of spiritual content. Politicians, too engrossed with day-to-day affairs in a highly centralised state to think about fundamental issues, are concerned only with filling import and export gaps, and even this on the assumption that what was possible in 1938 is possible in 1948 and will still be possible in 1958. They are overlooking the fact that the major economic revolution of the war was the transformation of the primary producing countries into secondary producers, in consequence of which all the pre-war primary producing countries have their faces dead set on achieving balanced economies and through that of their economic independence of the big industrial Powers.

India for example

GREAT industrial expansion is taking place in all the British Dominions today, in the S. American Republics, and in the countries within the Russian block on her Western border. Only the other day I read the remarks which the new American Ambassador in India made recently in an address to the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation:

Opportunities for industrial development in India are great. India is undoubtedly coming into a period of great growth, and development of industry is basic to that growth. In the report which our technical mission submitted to the Indian Government in 1942, the potentialities of industrial development were outlined. Our mission was deeply impressed by what it saw in India . . . impressions of India's great potentialities which I got in 1942 have been confirmed and strengthened since I arrived here last June. You have in your country everything which is essential to successful industrial development.

I also stumbled on this piece of information:

American business interest in India's industrial development will take concrete shape early next year when a number of U.S. engineers will set up offices in Bombay.

The importance of this announcement will be recognised when it is realised that America's heavy industries, whose productive power was so enormously increased during the war, may find a welcome outlet in the industrial expansion of India. And when India begins to export on a large scale, what then? Is it not time, therefore, that Britain began to think a little more about 1958 and a little less about 1938? Also a little more about the spiritual content of the 1938 standard of living and a little less about its money content?

The new economy

IF the primary producing countries mean to achieve a balanced economy, the highly industrialised countries will be compelled to do the same. The day of cheap foreign food is over. We are no longer to live on the backs of foreign growers. Hence the sooner we begin to grow much more of our own food the better and, one might add, the healthier and the saner.

In his wireless talk on the emergency Budget, Mr. Dalton stated that we were importing more than 50 per cent. of our food, and that unless we stepped up our exports to the required targets we should starve. The fact

is, however, that the Government has recently embarked on a new agricultural programme with the target of a 20 per cent. increase in production. That is excellent, but why only 20 per cent.? It ought to be and could be increased much more.

Every extra ton of food we produced would mean less food to import, fewer goods to export to pay for it, and a smaller quantity of raw materials to import in order to provide the exports.

In other words, by growing more food, the spiral of demand would begin to work in the opposite direction. We should reduce the pressure on our export man power and have more goods in our shops, and what is still more important, we should be preparing ourselves for the time when our world markets begin to shrink, as they are bound to do.

In the process of working out of these high-pressure times, our population would fall, as many of our people would choose to go to countries like

ARMS ARE DANGEROUS

"Eduardo Santos, former President of Colombia, mentions a conversation which he had as President-elect of Colombia with Sumner Welles in 1937. Welles had suggested the possibility of lending certain warships to Latin American nations. Santos replied: 'Don't do this evil to us. The course of armaments is like the vice of morphine. Once begun the cure is almost impossible. You will ruin us with cruisers, and create for us new problems. Among nations heavily armed, peace is precarious, because there is always someone with the desire to try out the armaments and obtain from them some advantage.'"

—Henry Wallace in The New Republic.

Canada and Australia where industrial development, in the effort to achieve a balanced economy, would call for a bigger population.

Our present heavy population is due to over-industrialisation. A re-distribution of industrial production would be followed by a re-distribution of population.

As we moved into that era we should have less need to worry about foreign markets, and more time to think about the good life, what is and what is not worth producing, and by what means and in what manner it should be produced.

The House of Lords

THAT brings me to my last comment which is on the Bill to limit the power of the House of Lords. I have been unable to work up any enthusiasm for this Bill. Compared with the struggle of 1911, it raises a dead issue, that of extending nationalisation, which is now a process of the centralising financial, economic and political power, and of mechanising larger and larger percentages of our working class population. To proceed along this demoralising path in order to secure a high money standard of living—which in fact is beyond our reach—stirs up no enthusiasm in me, but rather sorrow and lamentation that socialism should have come to mean that.

WILFRED WELLOCK.

THE GERM OF CONFLICT

CRITICISING Great Britain's drive to export 75 per cent. of her car production, J. C. Kumarappa asks, in a recent issue of Harijan:

"Where are the countries which can afford to import these cars? Surely, selling cars to America will be carrying coals to Newcastle. Even poor India is short of food and has to place restrictions on the import of cars. Such being the case, it ought to be evident that the economic development of Great Britain is lopsided and will not fit into a properly balanced economy of the world."

"The British authorities will do well to investigate what sections of their economy can be pruned to fit into the post-war world. Britain trying to sell her cars to India and such other countries which have to give priority to food, is a game at cross purposes and one may be forgiven if one sees the germ of conflict in such a programme of expansion on the one side and of restriction on the other."

POINTERS

The 150-mile Yugo-Slav Youth Railway was opened last Sunday by Marshall Tito, says a BUP report. The railway, from Samac to Sarajevo, was constructed by 211,000 students from 46 nations, including Britain.

The number of patients at present in military hospitals suffering from mental illness is 646. The Secretary of State for War, replying to a question in the House, could not say how many of these cases were attributable to war service.

In a letter to the Press the Organising Sec. of the Deserters' Amnesty Campaign, 8 Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1, appeals for support for an amnesty of the 21,000 deserters in Great Britain.

The War Office wishes to use 578 acres of land near Dovedale for shooting practice. The News Chronicle finds it hard to understand why they should want to use this "most enchanting Peak District valley."

Recent figures giving the incidence of V.D. among British troops (other ranks) show the annual rates per 100 strength to be: United Kingdom 2.8; British Army of the Rhine 16.8; British Commonwealth Occupation Force (Japan) 30.9.

As a gesture of goodwill, reports the Gospel Messenger, Moslem, Jewish and Christian clergy in Jerusalem joined in sponsoring "peace sermons," urging their congregations to greater amity in relations among all groups. Subsequently numbers of Jews and Christians visited Moslem friends celebrating the end of the fast of Ramadan.

The recruiting booklet "Palestine Police as a Career" has had its title changed to "The Palestine Police Force."

Some 6,500 children, equally divided between Negro and white, have enjoyed two-week vacations for the last five years at the two Catholic Youth Organisation camps near Pekskill, N.Y. These camps have tested the belief that racial prejudices are not born; they are made.

The American Friends' portion of the Nobel Peace Prize "will almost certainly go into foreign relief," says Time, quoting a "Quaker official."

Words of Peace - No 228

AN EXAMPLE

"A NATIONAL example of a refusal to bear arms has only once been exhibited to the world, but that one example has proved, as far as its political circumstances enabled it to prove, all that humanity could desire, and all that scepticism could demand, in favour of our argument."

"It has been the ordinary practice of those who have colonised countries to force a footing, or to maintain it with the sword. One of the first objects has been to build a fort, and to provide a military."

"The Adventurers became soldiers, and the colony was a garrison. Pennsylvania was, however, colonised by men who believed that War was absolutely incompatible with Christianity, and who therefore resolved not to practice it. Having determined not to fight, they maintained no soldiers, and possessed no arms. They planted themselves in a country that was surrounded by savages who knew they were unarmed. If easiness of conquest, or incapability of defence could subject them to outrage, the Pennsylvanians might have been the very sport of violence. Plunderers might have robbed them without retaliation, and armies might have slaughtered them without resistance. If they did not give a temptation to outrage, no temptation could be given."

"But these were the people who possessed their country in security, whilst those around them were trembling for their existence. This was a land of Peace, whilst every other was a land of War. The conclusion is inevitable, although it is extraordinary — they were in no need of arms because they would not use them."

Jonathan Dymond, "Essays on War" (Friends Book Centre).

Christmas is coming
—And Cards are going,
Don't wait until they're gone!
Get down to penning
And send us a florin;
What a good thing you're on!

SIX SAMPLES OF PPU CHRISTMAS CARDS FOR 2s.

from
PEACE NEWS, 3, BLACKSTOCK RD., N.4

A JOB FOR YOU?

"Tackle war threat like a plague" was a newspaper headline summarising a speech last week by Prof. Einstein.

George Lansbury put it this way:

"I would ask all mothers, wives and sweethearts to keep their male relatives out of the services."

"I would close every recruiting station, disband the army, dismantle the navy, and dismiss the air force."

Members of the Peace Pledge Union, of which George Lansbury was President, are pledged to renounce war and never support or sanction another.

ROSIKA SCHWIMMER NOBEL PRIZE CANDIDATE FOR 1948

AN international committee has been formed to support the candidature of Rosika Schwimmer for the 1948 Nobel Peace Prize. She has been nominated by Members of Parliament, University Presidents and Professors of many countries.

Outstanding among Rosika Schwimmer's pioneer efforts for peace was her heroic work in 1915 for the organisation of a Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation.

Of inestimable value today, however, was her work a year earlier in advocating world government. "Not only has she developed the philosophy of the movement," says Edith Wynner, Corresponding Secretary of the Candidacy Committee, "but also new approaches to its realisation, such as the newly launched efforts to organise a People's World Constituent Assembly which Rosika Schwimmer has advocated since 1937."

"In many countries, young leaders, inspired and trained by Rosika Schwimmer, are making outstanding contributions in the various branches of the peace movement."

Letters from individuals and resolutions from organisations supporting Rosika Schwimmer's candidacy should be addressed to the Norwegian Storting's Nobel Committee, Nobel Institute, Oslo, Norway.

TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, Nov. 20, 1937

... Pacifism is by its very nature incapable of being either Left or Right. It has one object: the attainment of peace through the liberation of mankind from the tyrannies which the pursuit of exclusive self-interest are continually creating.

"This is hypocrisy, you are deliberately preparing for war," called out the "madman," at the Cenotaph.

He had escaped from a mental hospital. He is 44. Probably he fought in the War.

... It came as a shock to me when I learned that now, nineteen years after the War was concluded, there are 6,000 men in mental hospitals as a result of the War.

—Lord Ponsonby.

Two men were "sacked" on Armistice Day for wearing white (peace) poppies. Both are members of the PPU and had taken that organisation's official advice to wear red ones as well. The Lord and Lady Mayoress of Leeds attended the local Armistice Day ceremony wearing white poppies.

Palmer's Green 4745.

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Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by "Peace News," Ltd. Printed by Clifford Printing Co. (T.U.), London, N.16.